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THE
FRESCOES IN THE CHAPEL
AT
ETON COLLEGE

FACSIMILES OF THE DRAWINGS BY R. H. ESSEX, WITH EXPLANATORY NOTES

BY
MONTAGUE RHODES JAMES, LITT. D.

Provost of King's College, Cambridge



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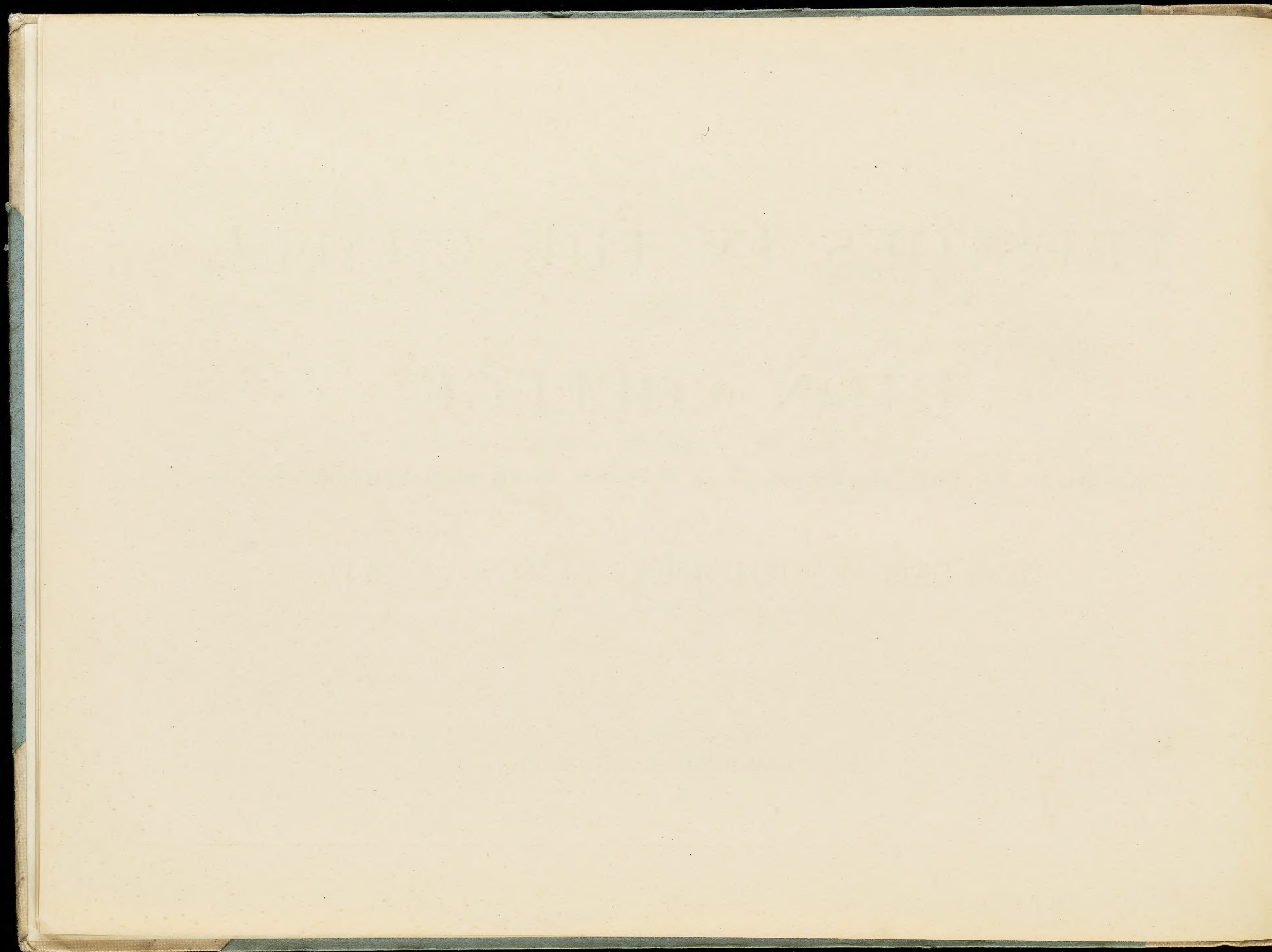
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ETON COLLEGE
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INTRODUCTION.

BY way of text to the following notes on the Eton frescoes I will quote certain passages from Willis and Clark's *Architectural History of the University and Colleges of Cambridge and of Eton College*, and from Sir H. C. Maxwell Lyte's *History of Eton College*, which epitomize what is known of the earlier and later history of the paintings.

We now come to the decoration of the space above the stalls in the Choir, or Nave, as the Audit Rolls term it, with paintings in fresco. The execution of these extended over eight years, having been apparently begun in 1479-80, and finished in 1487-88. The first entry is in 1479-80, for "candles for the use of the painters working in the College." Some of the paintings were finished by 15 August 1483, for Louis Palmer, who was evidently Sacristan, is paid in 1482-83 for sponges "to clean the pictures in the nave of the Church against the festival of the Assumption." Another charge "for four dozen Paris candles for the painters and glaziers working in the church" occurs in 1484-85; and lastly, in 1487-1488, under the heading "Painting of the Church," the colours used are separately entered and paid for, together with the labour of 'sundry painters,' and at the end of the account, the name of the principal artist is fortunately given: "and for sundry other colours used out of the colours belonging to the painter himself, that is, to William Baker."

WILLIS AND CLARK, *Architectural History* I. 411, 412.

As soon as Elizabeth came to the throne the high altar was again destroyed, 9 November, 1559; and in the beginning of 1560 the frescoes, which had been spared under Edward the Sixth, were concealed under a coating of whitewash:

Item to the Barber for wpyng owte the Imagery worke vppon the walles
in the churche.....vj^s. viij^d.
Ibid. 442.

When all the old panelling and seats were cleared away in 1847, it was discovered that the walls of the five western bays of the church on both sides

were covered with mediæval paintings. Some of them had been defaced by memorial tablets affixed in the seventeenth century, and others by the erection of a staircase leading to the organ-loft, but enough remained to render the discovery the most important of the kind that had been made in England during the present century. Unfortunately the number of persons who appreciated the merit of the paintings was small, and when it had been ascertained that the subjects were derived from superstitious legends, so little attention was paid to them, that the clerk of the works took it for granted that they were to be obliterated, and gave orders to that effect. Mr. John Wilder came in while the work of destruction was going on, and immediately put a stop to it, but not before the upper row of figures had almost entirely disappeared. The Provost declared himself quite willing that the remainder should be preserved as historical curiosities, for the benefit of a future generation, but, considering them unfit to be seen in a building dedicated to the use of the Church of England, he insisted that they should once more be covered over. Prince Albert, whose Protestantism was quite as unimpeachable as Hodgson's, entreated in vain that by some mechanical contrivance, such as hinged or sliding panels, it might still be possible for lovers of art to examine the paintings at will, without any danger to the religious principles of the ordinary congregation. A suggestion of transferring the paintings from the walls to canvas proved impracticable on account of the great cost it would have entailed. Nowadays we can judge of these paintings only from two or three sets of drawings which were made while the wood-work which conceals them was in course of construction.

MAXWELL LYTE, *History of Eton College*, ed. 1899, pp. 484, 485.

It is to Mr. J. W. Clark that the honour of having discovered and determined the name of the artist, William Baker, belongs.

The drawings reproduced in this publication are those which were made immediately after the discovery of the paintings by Mr. R. H. Essex. The originals are in the Library of Eton College.

Two coloured lithographs of single heads, the size of the originals, were also made by Mr. Essex, and some other lithographs, careful but hard, were produced by the Misses Cust.

A detailed description of the paintings is in the Appendix to the *Architectural History* (i. 598-607). Another account by myself is in the *Cambridge Antiquarian Society's Communications* (viii. 92-106). In both these, and particularly the last, account is taken of the parallel series of paintings still visible in the Lady Chapel at Winchester Cathedral, executed under Prior Silkstede (1498-1524). These have been reproduced in Carter's *Ancient Painting and Sculpture*, and also in the *Transactions* of the British Archaeological Association (Winchester volume, 1845).

In what follows I have drawn largely upon my own paper on the paintings, by the kind permission of the Council of the Cambridge Antiquarian Society.

The plans of the Eton and Winchester paintings which are appended (figs. 1-4) will probably go further than anything else to make the *rationale* of the whole matter clear. Let me point out the main features which have to be kept in mind.

Eton.—1. The Eton paintings are in two rows. At each end of each row, and also between each pair of subjects, is a full length figure of a saint, in a niche, on a pedestal, making nine figures in each row, and 36 figures in all.

2. The upper half of the upper row of paintings on each side is gone, except in the last (W.) subject on the S. side.

3. There is a gap in the lower row of paintings on each side at Eton, caused by the erection of the organ-screen in 1700: the stairs to the organ-loft have preserved part of the upper row on each side. The result is that we have lost, on the S. side, two subjects (4 and 5) in the lower row, and two figures (iv. and v.) as well as half of subject 3; and on the N. side subjects 4, 5, and half 6, with figures v. and vi.

The organ-screen has further mutilated the upper row on each side. On the S. side we have lost nearly all figure iv. and a large part of subject 4; on the N. side part of subject 5, the whole of figure vi. and part of subject 6.

Further, on the N. side, some unexplained mutilation has carried away the following portions:

Upper row, figure viii., subject 8, figure ix.

Lower row, figure viii., half of subject 8.

Winchester.—1. At Winchester the paintings are in two rows, with small figures on shafts separating the main subjects. These figures seem to be all meant for Prophets, and need not detain us further: they are all in bad condition.¹

2. On the S. side the 2nd compartment from E. is narrower than the rest. In the upper row is a portrait of Prior Silkstede; in the lower row is a piscina, which takes the place of a painting.

On the N. side, similarly, the 4th compartment from the E. is occupied by a door: above it is a picture of the Annunciation, longer and lower than its neighbours.

3. Several of the subjects are very faint even in Carter's drawings, made more than a century ago. Especially is this the case with Nos. vii. and x. on the N. side.

I shall next devote myself to two particular points: (1) the elucidation of the figures of saints in the Eton series, (2) a conjectural restoration of the missing subjects at Eton.

We will take the figures first, and begin with the upper row on each side.² All in this row, it will be remembered, are headless, with the exception of two at the S.W. end; and we are reduced in a good many cases to conjecture in identifying them. But the medieval

¹ To save space, these figures are not indicated on the diagrams (figs. 3, 4).

² I will call the upper row A, the lower row B, and refer to the figures by Roman numerals; the plan will show their position.

	I	1	II	2	III	3	IV	4	V	5	VI	6	VII	7	VIII	8	IX	
A	S. Gabriel	The Assumption of the Virgin.	S. Matthew	A Jew at the Virgin's funeral attempts to upset the bier; his hand is withered.	S. Ambrose (Ox)	Theophilus sells his soul to the Devil.	S. Mark	The hand of S. John of Damascus, cut off by the caliph, is restored by the Virgin.	S. Augustine (Eagle)	A beam at Constantinople is raised by a machine of which the Virgin had given the design.	S. Jerome (Winged man)	A youth betrothed to the Virgin's image.	S. Luke	S. Bonnet says mass before the Virgin.	S. Gregory (Lion)	A Jewish boy rescued by the Virgin from the furnace into which his father had thrown him.	S. John	A
EAST		Not at Winchester		Not at Winchester	S.	Not at Winchester		Winch. N. I	S.	Winch. S. VIII	S.	Winch. S. I		Not at Winchester	S.	Winch. S. IV		WEST
B	S. Katherine	The Emperor's departure.	S. Barbara	The Empress banished.	S. Apollonia	The Empress rescued.	gone. S. Agatha?	gone. [The second accusation of the Empress?]	gone. S. Ursula?	gone. [The Empress sees the Virgin in a vision?]	S. Dorothea	The Empress heals the knight's brother.	S. Lucy	The Empress heals her brother-in-law.	S. Juliana	The Empress takes the veil.	S. Agnes?	B
	I		II		III		IV		V		VI		VII		VIII		IX	
	B. 1-8. The story of the Empress. Not at Winchester.																	

FIG. 1. ETON COLLEGE CHAPEL. SOUTH SIDE.

	I	1	II	2	III	3	IV	4	V	5	VI	6	VII	7	VIII	8	IX	
A	Prophet	The procession of S. Angelo.	Prophet	The Devil detected as steward to a knight.	Prophet	Burial of a monk from whose mouth a rose grew after death.	Prophet	A sick clerk to whom the Virgin ministered.	Prophet	[The Virgin's champion in a tournament is made victorious.]	Prophet [?]	A pious painter is saved from falling by a picture of the Virgin.	Prophet	A blaspheming dicier is killed.	Prophet [?]	gone. [The miracle of Mont S. Michel? Winch. S. VII]	The Virgin [?]	A
WEST		Winch. S. V		Winch. N. VI		Winch. N. III		Winch. N. VIII		Winch. N. X		Winch. N. IV		Not at Winchester				EAST
B	S. Sidwell	A woman dying unconfessed is revived by the Virgin.	S. Martha	A woman takes an image of Christ as hostage for her captive son.	S. Etheldreda	A lady on Purification Day sees a Mass in a vision, and gets a candle.	S. Elizabeth	gone. [An illiterate priest reinstated? Winch. S. II]	S. Mary Magdalene [?]	gone. [S. George kills Julian the Apostate? Winch. N. VII. IX. XI.]	S. Cecilia [?]	sells the Not	S. Margaret	A stone is thrown at the Virgin's image, which bleeds, and the thrower falls dead.	gone.	The Virgin rescues a ship in distress.	S. Christina [?]	B
	I		II		III		IV		V		VI		VII		VIII		IX	

FIG. 2. ETON COLLEGE CHAPEL. NORTH SIDE.

systems of iconography are so simple, and so often repeated, that conjecture based on experience of them has a considerable chance of being correct. The first figure on the south side, beginning from the E. end (A I.), is an angel with a scroll and sceptre (the only angel in the series), easily recognisable as Gabriel, in the act of appearing to the Virgin. The opposite figure on the north side (A IX.) which has quite disappeared, must, I feel confident, have been the Virgin herself,—the two together forming a representation of the Annunciation. It is very usual to place these two figures on opposite sides of an arch or of a building. Among several instances that I might quote I will cite their occurrence on the eastern bay of the roof of S. Mary's Church at Bury S. Edmunds.

Leaving the two easternmost figures, we have eight figures on each side to deal with (in row A). Now all the remaining figures on the north side have been men in long robes with scrolls. When we recollect that the figures at Winchester were almost certainly meant for prophets, we shall be the more ready to allow that those at Eton were prophets also. But in fact they are well-nigh unmistakable. Eight prophets and the Virgin, then, were the figures on the north side in the upper row.

On the south side there is more variety. Four of the figures (A III. V. VI. VIII.) have the Evangelistic symbols at their feet, in the unusual order of Ox, Eagle, Winged Man, Lion. Moreover, in the S.W. corner the head of the figure with the lion, and the head of his neighbour on the right, survive; and it is plain that the person accompanied by the lion is not an Evangelist, but an ecclesiastic whose head-gear is mutilated, and who holds a staff—probably a double cross. Evidently, as I think, he is S. Gregory. And this leads me to conjecture that the eight figures represented the four Latin Doctors, SS. Ambrose, Augustine, Jerome and Gregory (very likely in that order), and the four Evangelists. The Doctors would thus have the symbols of the Evangelists beside them; a not

uncommon arrangement. To cite one example, there is a xvth century stone pulpit at Botzen, on which the Doctors appear accompanied by the Evangelistic emblems as well as by their own. If this idea be rejected, I can only offer the suggestion that the figures were those of the four major Prophets alternating with the Doctors. But I am fairly confident that the other suggestion is right.

In the lower row on either side were nine female saints. These figures are among the most beautiful parts of William Baker's work. We begin with those on the south side.

B. I. S. Katherine. Her wheel is gone: but this is the natural place in which to look for her; as the greatest of the Virgin Martyrs and the patroness of learning, she would occupy a position of honour in the series.

II. S. Barbara, with tower.

III. S. Apollonia, with pincers and tooth.

IV. Gone.

V. Gone.

VI. S. Dorothea.

VII. S. Lucy, probably: she has palm and book.

VIII. S. Juliana, a devil at her feet.

IX. S. Agnes, probably: she has a sword.

On the north side are:

B. I. S. Sativola or Sidwell with scythe; she was honoured at Exeter, where she has a church; her picture is also to be found in a window in New College Chapel, Oxford.

II. S. Martha, a dragon at her feet, led by a girdle. This is the Tarasque, the monster which she vanquished at Tarascon.

III. S. Etheldreda (or S. Radegund), a crowned abbess.

IV. S. Elizabeth, with a basket of bread.

V. Gone.

VI. Gone.

VII. S. Margaret, with dragon.

VIII. Gone.

IX. Symbol gone: very likely S. Christina.

The determination of eight of these figures must be considered doubtful; of five because they are gone, of the other three because

Small figures standing on shafts, probably representing prophets, separate the pictures.

		I	III	IV	VI	VIII	X	XII		
EAST		A youth betrothed to the Virgin's image. Eton, S. A, 6	Portrait of Prior Silkstede [1498—1524]	A Jewish boy rescued by the Virgin from the furnace into which his father had thrown him. Eton, S. A, 8	A woman takes an image of Christ as hostage for her captive son. Eton, N. B, 2	A beam at Constantinople is raised by a machine of which the Virgin had given the design. Eton, S. A, 5	The Virgin rescues a monk who had fallen over a bridge and been drowned. Not at Eton	The Virgin rescues a ship in distress. Eton, N. B, 8	WEST	
		An illiterate Priest suspended by his Bishop is restored by the Virgin. Not at Eton?	PISCINA	The procession of S. Angelo. Eton, N. A, 1	The Miracle of Mont S. Michel. Not at Eton?	A woman dying unconfessed is revived by the Virgin. Eton, N. B, 1	A stone is thrown at the Virgin's image, which bleeds, and the thrower falls dead. Eton, N. B, 7	A lady on Purification Day sees a Mass in a vision, and gets a candle. Eton, N. B, 3		
		II		V	VII	IX	XI	XIII		

FIG. 3. LADY CHAPEL IN WINCHESTER CATHEDRAL. SOUTH SIDE.

		I	III	V	VI	VIII	X		
WEST		The hand of S. John of Damascus, cut off by the caliph, is restored by the Virgin. Eton, S. A, 4	Burial of a monk from whose mouth a rose grew after death. Eton, N. A, 3	The Annunciation. Represented at Eton by the two upper eastern figures; S. A, I; N. A, IX	The Devil detected as steward to a knight. Eton, N. A, 2	A sick clerk to whom the Virgin ministered. Eton, N. A, 4	Apparently a battle-scene. [The Virgin's champion in a tournament made victorious?] Eton, N. A, 5	EAST	
		The thief Ebbo is kept alive on the gallows by the Virgin. Not at Eton	A pious painter is saved from falling by a picture of the Virgin. Eton, N. A, 6	DOOR	S. Basil intercedes with Julian the Apostate on behalf of Cæsarea in Cappadocia. Not at Eton?	The Virgin raises S. George from his tomb, and arms him to fight against Julian. Not at Eton?	S. George kills Julian the Apostate. Eton, N. B, 5?		
		II	IV		VII	IX	XI		

FIG. 4. LADY CHAPEL IN WINCHESTER CATHEDRAL. NORTH SIDE.

their symbols are indistinct. I have suggested the names of Agnes, Lucy, and Christina for these last. For the five who are gone I have five names to offer, four of which are very obvious: Mary Magdalene, Agatha, Ursula, Cecilia, Osith.

Osith I suggest because she was a very popular English saint, and I find a distinctly English element in the selection. It is possible that Winifred might be a better conjecture. The other four almost *must* have found places in such a series as this.

The other question I propose to discuss is this: What were the subjects of the paintings which have been totally destroyed?

There were in all twenty-five¹ subjects represented, if we count the story of the Empress as a single one: this story, it will be remembered, occupies the whole of the lower row on the south side. Of these pictures three are quite gone, and a fourth is doubtful (A 5 north); besides which, two scenes of the story of the Empress (B 4, 5 south) are gone. Twenty-two subjects, however, at Eton are recognisable.

At Winchester (figs. 3, 4) there are twenty subjects (exclusive of the Annunciation and the picture of Prior Silkstede), one of which is doubtful. Nineteen may be regarded as certain.

Fourteen subjects unquestionably, fifteen probably, are common to the two series. Eton has eight (or seven) which are not at Winchester. Winchester has five (or four) which are not at Eton: these subjects are:

- The illiterate priest reinstated. II. South.
- The woman delivered at Mont S. Michel. VII. South.
- The drowned monk rescued. X. South.
- The thief Ebbo preserved alive on the gallows. II. North.
- The story of S. George and Julian the Apostate. VII. IX. XI. North.

¹ There are 16 compartments on each side, or 32 in all. Of these 24 represent separate scenes, while 8 (here counted as one) contain the story of the Empress.

What were the lost Eton subjects?

On the south side, the gap occurs in the story of the Empress; and we may say with great probability that the scenes lost were (1) the second accusation of the Empress by the knight's wicked brother, (2) the Virgin appearing on the island and showing the healing herb to the Empress.

On the north side the gaps are not so easy to fill; but considering the similarity of the two series we have before us, we are amply justified in supplying the missing matter from the Winchester list. As we have seen, there are five subjects from which we may choose our three. The most probable to my mind are the following:

(1) The story of the illiterate priest reinstated. I would place this in B 4 North, under the picture of the sick clerk healed by the Virgin. I notice that there seems to be a certain amount of care taken to place two similar subjects together, one above the other. Thus A 6 and B 6 both represent stories in which the devil is baffled; A 7 and B 7 both show the punishment of people who insulted the Virgin. And this story of the illiterate priest would make a good pendant to that of the sick clerk.

(2) The story of S. George killing the Emperor Julian. I would place this in B 5 North, under the similar story of the Virgin helping her champion.

(3) The story of the woman delivered at Mont S. Michel. This I would place in A 8, above the picture of the Virgin delivering the Abbot from shipwreck. Both stories are connected with the sea.

It is not altogether beyond hope, by the way, that the two gaps in the lower row may at some time be filled up, or rather that the pictures may be recovered; for I find a note on one of Essex's drawings which states that the gaps are caused, not by a scraping of the paint off the wall, but by the presence of a thick coating of oil-paint contemporary with the organ-screen. The frescoes, therefore, may (or may not) be extant under this paint.

DESCRIPTION OF THE PAINTINGS.

SOUTH SIDE, I.—III.

I. S. Gabriel, with sceptre.

1. The Assumption of the Virgin: the lower half of the Virgin's figure remains, supported by four Angels; the drapery of a fifth is seen on *L.* Rays surround them.

Inscription: *Gaudet · Angeli · letantur · arch-angeli ·*

II. S. Matthew: no attribute.

2. The Funeral of the Virgin. S. John preceding to *L.*, holding palm and book (in bag-binding). Behind him another Apostle with book; part of a third seen on *L.* of S. John. On *R.* above, lower half of the Jew drawing his sword and inclining forward; below, the same Jew, bareheaded, fallen, *L.* hand stretched up, adhering to the Virgin's bier; his hat and sword on the ground.

Inscription: *Judeus · quidam · feretrum · beate · Virginis · tangens · liberatur · Vinc · li · 8.¹*

III. S. Ambrose: ox at feet, scroll.

3. Theophilus. On *L.* the lower part of the Devil with one leg hoofed, one human, giving bond to Theophilus facing *L.* In centre Theophilus facing *R.* The rest gone, save a foot on *R.*

Inscription: *Theophilus · christum · et · beatam · virginem · abnegat ·
.....*

¹ In the drawings the number 8 is constantly written instead of 7 in referring to the *Speculum* of Vincentius.

I. S. Katherine, with sword, crowned.

1. The story of the Empress. The Emperor takes leave of her. On *L.* the Emperor, crowned, in armour, bends from his horse and takes the hand of the Empress, crowned, in ermine, kneeling; behind him are two mounted attendants. He is beardless, with long hair. On *R.* the Empress standing pushes the Emperor's brother, in round cap and long gown, through the door of a tower.

Inscription: *hic · deuotus · imperator · peregrinaturus · uxori · <sue · valedicit> ·*

II. S. Barbara, turbaned, with polygonal tower in two stories, and palm.

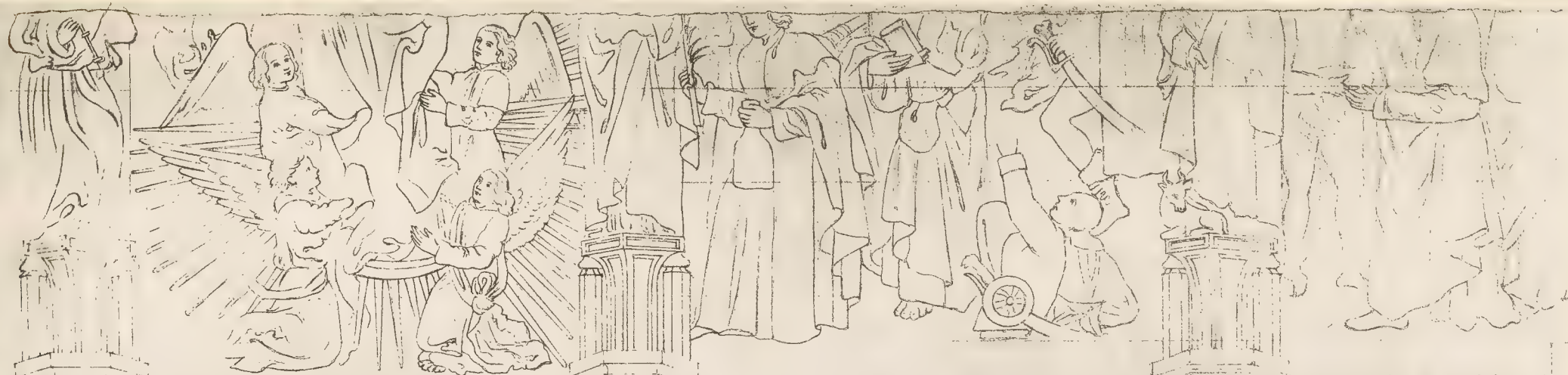
2. The Emperor returns: his brother accuses the Empress of infidelity in his absence. The Emperor smites her, and orders her to be exposed in a forest. On *L.* in front the brother in gown, bareheaded, *L.* hand raised, *R.* of him the Emperor with *R.* hand raised to strike the kneeling Empress: behind, three attendants. On *R.* the Empress weeping led to *R.* between two men with staves: one has the letters AMALE on a band across his breast.

Inscription: *hic · rediens · imperator · accusatam · falso · sibi · uxorem · jubet · in · siluam · deduci · et · decapitari · Vincentius · li · 8° · cap ·*

III. S. Apollonia with pincers and tooth, and book under arm.

3. The Empress, taken out by guards to the forest, is rescued by a knight and his train. The right-hand half of this subject is gone. On *L.* the two guards; the one with AMALE on his breast is fallen, and about to be killed with the sword by a man standing over him; the other defends himself with staff against a mounted headless figure with starred breast. Centre, the Empress kneels, face *R.* The rest gone.

Inscription: *hic · superuenientes
nobiles (? milites).....*



Quidam Angeli clamant arcum dei

quod quam crederetis

neonibus et bonum et magnum



hic deus inquit pergrinatus

hic videtur impetor acmala tallo huius

et decapitare vincit huius

hic

SOUTH SIDE, IV. & V.

IV. S. [Mark: gone.]

4. S. John of Damascus: his hand, cut off by the Caliph, is restored by the Virgin. S. John kneels face *R.*: his *R.* hand rests on a round block: on *R.* the lower part of two draped figures; the Virgin restoring the hand to him.

Inscription: gone.

V. S. Augustine, with bowl, scroll, and bird (eagle) at his feet.

5. The beam (or columns) at Constantinople raised. On *L.* the architect, in gown, girdle, and cloak over *L.* shoulder, bends *L.* knee, joins his hands, and looks up to *R.* On *R.* three boys in tunics and high boots turn a windlass with four handspikes at each end. In the foreground lie planks and satchels (these last belonging to the boys).

Inscription: gone.

IV. Gone. S. Agatha [?].

4. Gone. Probably represented the Empress accused for the second time (of murder) by the knight's brother, and put on a desert island.

Inscription: gone.

V. Gone. S. Ursula [?].

5. Gone. Probably the Virgin appearing to the Empress on the island, and shewing her a herb which would cure leprosy.

Inscription: gone.



SOUTH SIDE, VI.—IX.

VI. S. Jerome with scroll and winged man at his feet.

6. A youth betroths himself to the Virgin (unintentionally) by putting a ring on the finger of her image. On *L.* a gothic panelled base. Drapery of a figure: lower part of the youth with gypciere at girdle kneeling, face *L.* On *R.* drapery of two figures facing *R.*

Inscription: *Qualiter · imaginem · quidam · beate · virginis · anulo · desponsavit · et · <mundo> · renunciavit · Vinc · li° · 8° · ca° · 87° ·*

VII. S. Luke, with scroll.

7. S. Bonnet (of Clermont) celebrates mass in the presence of the Virgin.

On *L.*, foot-pace of altar: on it S. Bonnet stands in chasuble, face *L.* Part of two draped figures on *R.* (the Virgin gives a vestment to S. Bonnet).

Inscription: *Qualiter · beata · virgo · sancto · Bonito · aluarnensi · episcopo · post · missarum · sollemnia · vestem · celestem · tradiderat · (? -it) · Vinc · li° · 8° · ca° · 97° ·*

VIII. S. Gregory in tiara (?), with cross-staff (?), scroll, and lion at his feet.

8. A Jewish boy, having received the Sacrament, is put into an oven by his father: the Virgin rescues him. On *L.* in front, four figures (three youths and a woman) kneel; a priest standing before an altar (full-face) housels them. On *R.* the Virgin stands by an oven on *R.*, in which a boy is seen, through an arched opening.

Inscription: *Qualiter · cuiusdam · Judei · filius · cum · christianis · communionem · accipiens · a · crudeli · patre · in · fornacem · projicitur · legenda · sanctorum ·*

IX. S. John, face *L.*, beardless.

VI. S. Dorothea, with rose in *R.* hand, and basket in *L.*

6. The Empress heals the knight's brother of leprosy by means of the herb. *L.* two beggars, one in hat, the other touching his cap and leaning on a crutch: he has lost his *R.* foot, and has a begging-bowl at his girdle. In centre, the Empress, face *R.*, gives the knight's brother drink out of a bowl. He kneels. On *R.* stands the knight, his *L.* hand on his brother's head. He wears cap, gown, sword, and rich collar. On either side of him is an attendant.

Inscription: *vincent · li° · 8° · cap ·*

VII. S. Lucy [?], with palm and book.

7. The Empress heals the Emperor's brother of leprosy by means of the herb. On *L.* a Cardinal with double cross attending on a Pope in cope with morse and tiara, facing *R.* In front of them an attendant (headless), and the Emperor's brother kneeling, with staff. On *R.* the Empress facing *L.* gives him drink out of a bowl. On her *R.* stands the Emperor with sceptre. On extreme *R.* an attendant with sword.

Inscription: *hic · imperator · ipsam · <>false · accusalam> · cognoscit · et · reconciliacionem · intime · exoptat · postquam · videret · fratrem · suum · scelus · suum · confessum · esse · (?) · vinc · li° · 8° · ca° · 90° ·*

VIII. S. Juliana, in ermine bodice, a devil at her feet in a chain.

8. The Empress takes leave of her husband and enters a convent. On *L.* a porch; in it stands an abbess with pastoral staff, on *R.* a nun. Before her kneels the Empress in a nun's habit, her crown on the ground on *R.* On *R.* the Emperor with sceptre, in long robe, faces *L.* Behind him an attendant with shield (?).

Inscription: *hic · eadem · (?) · imperatrix · marito · suo · et · mundo · renuncians · monachali · veste · velata · castitatem · servare · deo · et · beate · virgini · decernit · vinc · li° · 8° · ca · 90° ·*

IX. S. Agnes [?], with sword.



NORTH SIDE, I.—IV.

I. Prophet with scroll.

1. S. Gregory in the pestilence at Rome carries the Virgin's picture in procession. S. Michael is seen on the castle of S. Angelo, sheathing his sword, and angels sing *Regina caeli*. The lower parts of six vested ecclesiastics walking *R*. The first two (from *L*.) hold the staves of a canopy, probably; the third a half-length picture of the Virgin and Child; the other three have books (?).

Inscription:*p**meritis · beate · Virginis · a · peste · sevis* <*s*> *ima · liberatur · legenda · sanctorum* ·

I. S. Sativola or Sidwell with scythe.

1. A woman dies unshriven of one deadly sin; by the Virgin's intercession she is revived and absolved, and dies again. In front the woman lies dead, head to *L*. Above on *L*. the Virgin crowned kneels to Christ, coped, crowned with thorns, shewing the wounds in his hands and feet; the globe under his feet. On *R*. the woman kneels and confesses to a monk in a chair.

Inscription: *Qualiter · beata · virgo · mulierem · ad · mortem · usque · laborantem · de · peccato · gravi · commisso · non · confessam · vite · restituit · et · a · periculo · dampnationis · liberauit · vinc · li° · 8 · ca° · <11> · 7°* ·

II. Prophet with scroll.

2. A robber-knight is devoted to the Virgin: he has a wicked steward. He captures a holy man who detects the Devil in the person of the steward. The Devil confesses that, but for the knight's devotion to the Virgin, he would have strangled him. In front, the Devil advancing: he has clawed hands and feet, otherwise he is a beardless man in a tunic; his attitude expresses confusion. Behind him are the lower parts of four figures: the holy man (in long robe), attendant, knight (in short gown) and attendant.

Inscription: *Qualiter · miles · quidam · convertitur · et · <meritis · beate> · virginis · liberatur ·*

II. S. Martha leading the *Tarasque* by her girdle; she has a palm.

2. A woman's son is taken captive. She takes an image of the Child from the Virgin's lap as hostage. Her son is restored. On *L*. the boy stands by his kneeling mother, who looks round at him, and take the image of the Child out of a box. On *R*. in an arched recess with window (indicating a church), the woman kneels on a step and puts the image of the Child into the arms of the Virgin who is seated crowned on an altar (or plain base).

Inscription: *Qualiter · mulier · quedam · per · filium · beate · virginis · suum · filium · a · carceribus · liberatum · sibi · restituit · legenda · sanctorum* ·

III. Prophet with scroll.

3. A monk, knowing only his *ave* or, rather, certain psalms of which the initials form the words *ave maria*, dies and is buried; from his mouth springs a lily (or rose), inscribed with the words *ave maria*. In front two men in jerkins dig a grave; bones lie about. Behind, the draperies of four or five monks.

Inscription: *Qualiter · ab · ore · cuiusdam · monachi · in honore(m) · beate · virginis · certos · psalmos · dicentis · rosa · excreuit · inscripta · ave · maria · vin · li° · 8°* ·

IV. Prophet with scroll elaborately curled and curiously forked.

III. S. Etheldreda or S. Radegund, crowned, in nun's habit with pastoral staff and book.

3. A lady, unable to attend mass on Purification Day, has a vision in which she sees mass celebrated before the Virgin, and has a candle given to her which she keeps, and which she finds in her hand on awaking. This candle heals diseases. On *L*. the Virgin crowned, with spiral candle, advances, followed by four Virgins with candles. In front on *R*. the lady kneels at desk, a candle in *R*. hand, *L*. hand to her eye, indicating sleep. An angel speaks to her. Behind, an altar with priest holding maniple, and deacon, both facing west. In the wall are two two-light windows with four figures of saints in the glass: viz. Adrian with sword, anvil, and lion; Alban (?) with sword; an ecclesiastic bare-headed with indistinct object; and Anthony with crutch and pig.

Inscription: *Qualiter · mulier · quedam · nobilis · in · die · purificationis · beate · virginis · <legenda> · sanctorum* ·

IV. S. Elizabeth with three cakes, jewelled turban-like headdress.



NORTH SIDE, IV. & V.

4. A clerk devoted to the Virgin falls ill; the Virgin comes, gives him medicine, and cures him. A bed, with locked box at the foot; a figure in it with joined hands; on *L.* draperies of the Virgin and an angel (?); on *R.* those of another figure.

Inscription: gone.

V. Prophet with scroll.

5. A knight on his way to a tournament stops to say the office of the Virgin; on arriving at the lists he finds that some one has taken his form and defeated all comers.

In front a knight in armour prostrate, another kneels on him about to kill him; behind on *L.* two armed figures face *L.*: on *R.* three attendants face *L.* One has several pointed weapons (?) under his arm.

Inscription: gone.

4. Gone. [The story of a priest who knew only the Mass of the Virgin; his Bishop deprived him, but was compelled by the Virgin to reinstate him.]

Inscription: Gone.

V. Gone. S. Mary Magdalene [?].

5. Gone. [The story of S. George raised from his tomb by the Virgin, and sent, in consequence of the prayers of S. Basil, to kill Julian the Apostate.]

Inscription: Gone.



NORTH SIDE, VI.—IX.

VI. Gone. Prophet [?].

6. A painter is engaged to paint the Virgin treading on the Devil. The Devil appears to him, and asks him not to paint him in so ugly a guise. He refuses to listen. The Devil breaks the ladder on which he is painting: the painted image or picture of the Virgin puts out its hand and saves him from falling. The left-hand half is gone. On *L.*, feet of three figures; on *R.*, an excited man moving a ladder; planks on the ground, a scaffolding above.

Inscription: . . . *retentus · est · et · ab · insidiis · diaboli ·*

VII. Prophet with scroll.

7. A man playing dice blasphemes the Virgin, and falls dead. In front a figure lying on its back, head to *L.*; behind, remains of two figures on *L.*, and a table on *R.*

Inscription: *Qualiter · sutor · (? lusor) · quidam · ad · tessaras · christum · <ho>rrida · morte · delin · (? defunctus est).*

VIII. Gone. Prophet [?].

8. Gone. Probably the story of a woman, going to Mont S. Michel, overtaken by the tide, and delivered by the Virgin.

Inscription: Gone.

IX. Gone. Probably the Virgin.

VI. Gone. S. Cecilia [?].

6. Amoras, a knight, is distressed for money, and sells his wife to the Devil. They go to keep the appointment; on the way the wife goes into a Chapel to pray to the Virgin. The Virgin assumes her form, and accompanies Amoras (who is ignorant of the change) to the Devil. The Devil is confounded, and the bargain falls through. The left-hand half is gone. There remain the hindquarters of a horse going to *L.* with a lady on its back. On *R.* Amoras in slashed cloak and laced doublet faces *R.*, gives a paper to, and takes a bag from, the Devil, who has one fleshless leg.

Inscription: *<Qualiter · mile>s · quidam · a · diabolo · deceptus · vxor · ejus · ad · diabolum · conducit · legenda · sanctorum ·*

VII. S. Margaret with long cross emerges from back of dragon; her robe in its mouth.

7. A soldier (of Brabant) throws a stone at an image of the Virgin and Child which a woman is adoring; the image bleeds, and the soldier is struck dead. Behind on *L.* a man in laced doublet, with sword, about to throw a stone: on *R.* a man stands with spear. On *R.* the west part of a church with side-turret, four-light window, and bell-cot. An image of the Virgin (injured) in a niche below the window, to which a woman kneels. In front, on *L.*, the thrower lies on the ground dead.

Inscription: *Qualiter · ymago · filii · beate · virginis (above the line) · a · perfidis · percussa · sanguinem · dedit · Vincent ·*

VIII. Gone. ? S. Osith or S. Winifred.

8. The Virgin appears to an Abbot in a storm in the Channel, and saves the ship. The left-hand half is gone. On *R.* the Virgin, full-faced, crowned, with book under her arm.

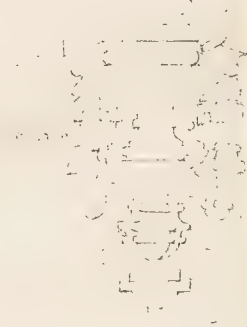
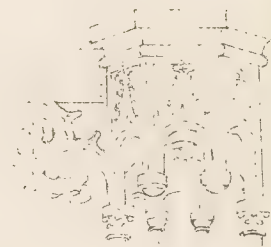
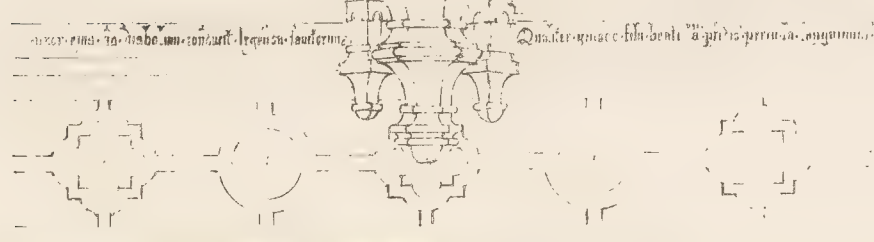
Inscription: *<naufraga>ntibus · a · periculis · liberat · <Vinc ·> li · 8° · ca · 89° ·*

IX. S. Christina [?], no visible attribute.

Below the lower row runs a band of ornament composed of alternate circles and squares inscribed in quatrefoils, each connected with the next, and with the top and bottom of the band, by horizontal and vertical bands.



Quater ymac c fola-bent a pph'is pph'ia angumma, ad ed -



NOTES.

SOUTH SIDE.

A.

1. The inscription is from the Roman Breviary.
2. The reference is to Vincentius (called of Beauvais), *Speculum Historiale*, lib. vii. c. 77. The source used by Vincentius is the *Transitus Mariae* attributed to Miletus (=Melito, Bishop of Sardis). (Tischendorf, *Apocalypses Apocryphae*, p. 124.) The "prince of the priests" tries to upset the bier of the Virgin as it is being carried to burial by the Apostles. His hands are withered and cling to the bier. He appeals to Peter, professes his belief, and is healed.
The subject is not uncommon: it occurs in the windows of King's College Chapel where *two* Jews (in accordance with some of the accounts) are represented.
3. The source is probably the *Legenda Aurea* (*Legenda Sanctorum*) of Jacobus de Voragine (†1298), Archbishop of Genoa. *Leg. Aur.* cap. cxxxi. (de nativ. B.V.M.) § 9. The miracle is the most famous of all those connected with the Virgin's name. Theophilus, the vicedominus of a church in Cilicia, upon the death of the bishop, refused the episcopate. The man who actually became bishop deposed Theophilus from his office. He then fell into desperation, and consulted a Jewish magician as to the possibility of recovering his position. The wizard called up the devil, and Theophilus signed away his soul to him. The following day the bishop sent for him and reinstated him. He now realised what he had done, and spent day and night in prayer to the Virgin. She finally appeared, reproved him, summoned the devil, wrested the bond from him and returned it to Theophilus. He made public confession of the whole episode, and died three days afterwards. The date assigned is 537 A.D.
4. The source is probably Vincent, *Spec. Hist.* lib. xvii. 104, 5. An enemy of S. John of Damascus forged a treasonable letter in John's name to the Persians. He was condemned to have his hand cut off, and it was restored to him by the Virgin.
5. Vincent vii. 81. A basilica of the Virgin was being built at Constantinople. Columns were brought to adorn it, which were so heavy that they could not be raised. The Virgin appeared to the architect and told him to take three boys from the schools: they would be able to accomplish the work; and so it happened. Gregory of Tours (*de Gloria Martyrum* 8) tells the story and mentions, what Vincent does not, the pulleys and ropes, the arrangement of which was explained by the Virgin to the architect.

6. Vincent vii. 87. Imitated from the story told by William of Malmesbury (*Gesta Regum* ii. 205) of the youth who put his ring on the finger of a statue of Venus. (Cf. Anstey, *The Tinted Venus*.)

7. Vincent vii. 97. Bonnet, bishop of Clermont Ferrand, remaining in his church after the services of the day, is surprised by the entry of the Virgin and a company of saints. They command him to celebrate Mass before them and present him with a vestment which was long preserved at Clermont.

8. *Legenda Aurea* cxix. (de Assumptione) § 5. A very famous miracle. This portion of the painting is still visible between the stall-canopies in the south-west angle of the Chapel.

B.

1—8. Vincent vii. 90—92. The story is told at length by Maxwell Lyte. The order of events put shortly is as follows:

(1) An Emperor going on pilgrimage commits his empire to the charge of his chaste and beautiful wife, commending to her in particular the care of his young brother. This brother falls violently in love with the Empress: she confines him in a tower.

(2) The Emperor returns after five years. The Empress rejoices and releases the brother, who accuses her to the Emperor of infidelity. The enraged Emperor orders her to be taken into a forest and slain there.

(3, 4, 5) When about to be killed she is rescued by a knight who passes that way, and is taken home by him. She conceals her rank and takes service as nurse in the castle. Here again she is persecuted by the addresses of the knight's brother. Repulsed by her he contrives to cut the throat of his nephew whom the Empress was nursing, and leave the blood-stained knife in her hand while she slept. She is accused of the murder, and the knight and his wife put her on board a ship to be taken out of the land. Violence is offered to her by the sailors, who leave her on a rocky island. The Virgin appears to her in sleep and bids her gather a herb which grows on the islet and can cure leprosy. She is taken off the rock next day by a passing ship.

(6) The fame of her cures goes far and wide. Eventually she comes to the abode of the knight, her late employer, but is not recognized. His wicked brother has become a leper. The Empress offers to administer the remedy if he will confess all his misdeeds. He eventually confesses his false accusation of her and is healed.

(7, 8) She then comes back to Rome, still unrecognized. The Emperor's brother has become a leper, and the same process of confession and healing is gone through with him. The Empress then reveals her identity, and, in accordance with a vow she had made in the time of her trouble, takes the veil and enters a religious house.

The story is current in countless forms in medieval literature (see Oesterley, *Gesta Romanorum*, 1872, p. 747). One such form, and the best known, is *The Man of Law's Tale* by Chaucer. The only other occurrence of the subject in art known to me is on a series of bosses in the roof of what is called the Bauchun (or Beauchamp) Chapel in Norwich Cathedral.

NORTH SIDE.

A.

1. *Legenda Aurea* xlvi. (de S. Gregorio) § 4. The picture of the Virgin carried in procession was that attributed to S. Luke and preserved in S. Maria Maggiore. Gregory saw on what is now called the Castle of S. Angelo an angel sheathing his sword in token that the plague was stayed.

2. Vincent vii. 101. The knight (not a robber-knight in this version) was in the habit of daily using the prayer *O intemerata*.

3. Vincent vii. 116. The event is placed at the abbey of S. Bertin at S. Omer in north-eastern France. Five roses are found growing out of the dead monk's mouth, eyes and ears. The inscription *ave Maria* is on the one which grew out of his mouth. The five Psalms were:

Magnificat.
Ad dominum cum tribulares.
Retribue.
In convertendo.
Ad te levavi.

4. There are many stories to the same effect. One is in Vincent vii. 89, where the Virgin gives of her milk to the sick clerk.

5. *Legenda Aurea* cxxxi. (de nativ. B.V.M.) § 2. The story is sufficiently indicated above.

6. Vincent vii. 104 (pt. 1). The painter lived in the parts of Flanders.

7. Vincent vii. 104 (pt. 2). Also occurred in Flanders.

8. The story which I conjecture to have been represented here is in Vincent vii. 85. The woman was taken in labour when the tide came, and both she and her child were preserved until it ebbed again.

B.

1. Vincent vii. 117. Placed "in territorio Linconensi": probably Langres is meant.

2. *Legenda Aurea* cxxxi. 4.

3. *Legenda Aurea* xxxvii. (de Purificatione B.V.M.) § 2. The candle was long preserved at Arras.

4. The story of the illiterate priest is in *Legenda Aurea* cxxxi. 7.

5. The story occurs in Vincent xiv. 43.

6. *Legenda Aurea* cxix. 3. The knight is anonymous here.

7. Vincent vii. 110. Said to have happened in 1187 at the abbey of Dolis (Déols) near Castrum Radulphi (Châteauroux).

8. Vincent vii. 89. The abbot recommended those on board, who were all invoking different saints, to unite in calling upon the Virgin. A light appeared on the top of the mast and the storm ceased.

Those who wish to study the subject of the legendary miracles of the Virgin in detail on the literary side will find a great deal of information in a series of studies published by Dr. Adolf Mussafia in the *Sitzungsberichte* of the Kaiserliche Akademie der Wissenschaften in Wien, Philosophisch-Historische Klasse cxiii-cxxiii: reprinted separately in 1887-91 (*Studien zu den mittelalterlichen Marienlegenden*): also in H. L. D. Ward's *Catalogue of Romances* (British Museum, 1893) ii. 586 sqq.

Representations of some of these miracles in English art are fairly common in the fourteenth century. A series of them is sculptured in relief in the Lady Chapel at Ely: for photographs and descriptions of these the present writer's *Sculptures in the Lady Chapel at Ely* (D. Nutt, 1895) may be consulted.

Other sets of illustrations of them are to be found in four manuscripts of English execution known to me, viz. the Decretals, Royal MS. 10 E iv in the British Museum; Queen Mary's Prayer Book, Royal MS. 2 B vii; the "Carew-Poyntz *Horae*," MS. 49 in the Fitzwilliam Museum at Cambridge; and the "Taymouth *Horae*" in the possession of H. Y. Thompson, Esq. The two last are fully described, the first in my Catalogue of the Manuscripts in the Fitzwilliam Museum (1895), the other also by me in the Second Series of Fifty Manuscripts in the collection of H. Y. Thompson, Esq., privately printed in 1902. These four manuscripts all have the illustrations of the miracles painted in the lower margins of their pages.

ADDITIONAL NOTES.

THROUGH the kindness of Mr. Lionel Cust I have had an opportunity of examining a series of lithographs of the greater part of the paintings executed in 1847 by Misses Charlotte, Georgina, and Eleanor Cust. I have compared these with Essex's drawings (which are undeniably better and more complete as a record), and in the following notes have set down a list of the lithographs and called attention to the few points in which they supplement the drawings.

It seems that the authorship of the lithographs can be thus distributed:

By Miss Charlotte Cust are: South Side, Nos. I., II., IV.—VII.; North Side, No. I. These give both upper and lower compartments. They are the least good of the series.

By Miss Georgina Cust are: South Side, No. VIII.; North Side, Nos. II.—V.

By Miss Eleanor Cust is: South Side, No. III. This appears to me the best.

Mr. R. H. Essex executed two lithographs of heads, full size, reduced reproductions of which may be seen in Sir H. Maxwell-Lyte's *History*. They were the heads of the knight (2nd figure from *R.* in South Side, B VI.) and of the Virgin, crowned, with taper (North Side, B III.).

ETON FRESCOES.

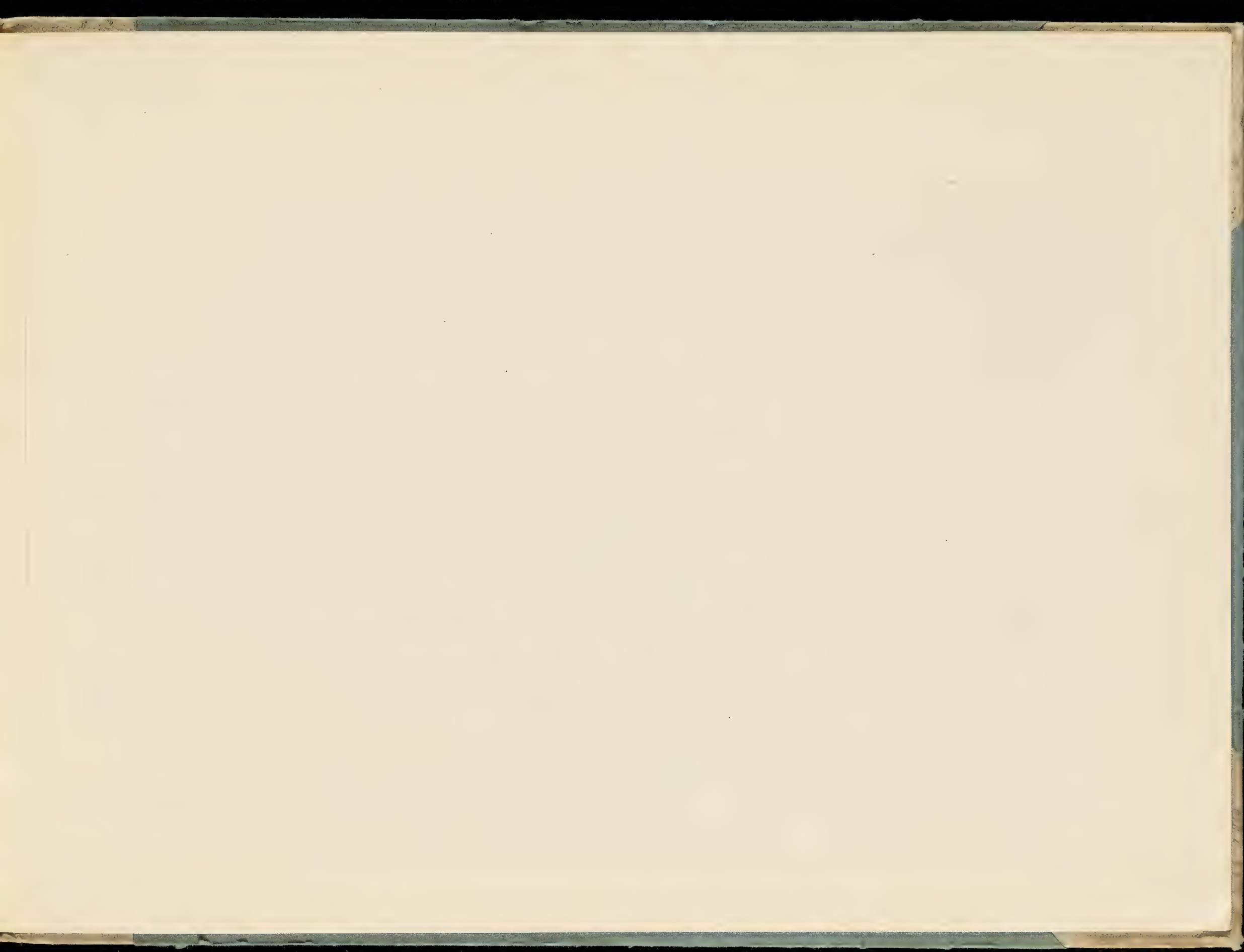
South Side from East.

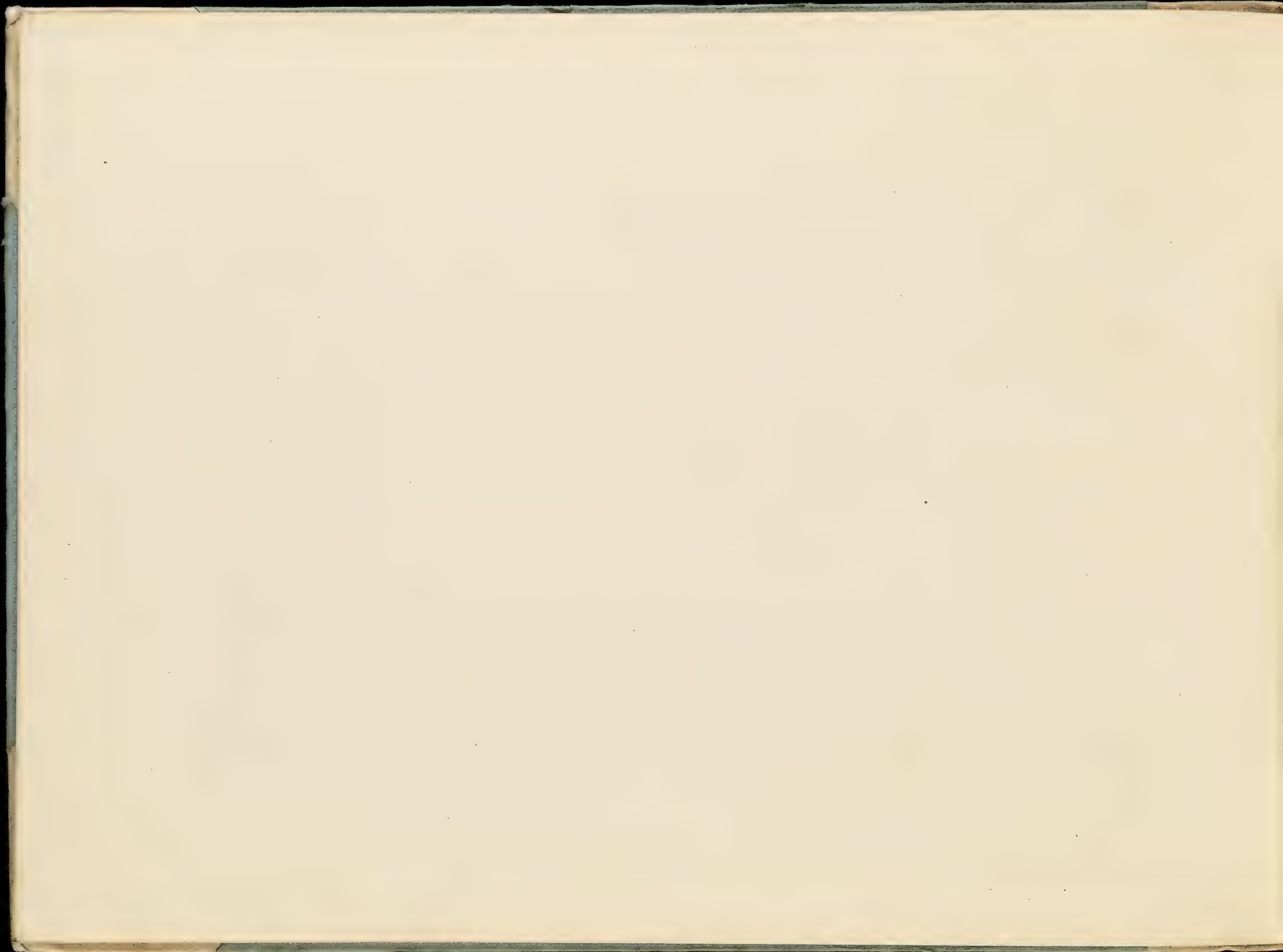
- I. Upper and lower compartments (=A I., B I.).
Assumption: a third angel's head shown on *L.* above the upper one in Essex's drawing.
The saint at top on *L.* omitted.
S. Katherine has a book.
Inscriptions: lower reads *uxori illius* (? *ipsius*).
- II. Upper and lower compartments (A II., B II.).
No important differences.
Inscriptions: upper omitted, lower incomplete.
- III. Signed Eleanor Cust.
Lower compartment only (B II.), no inscription.

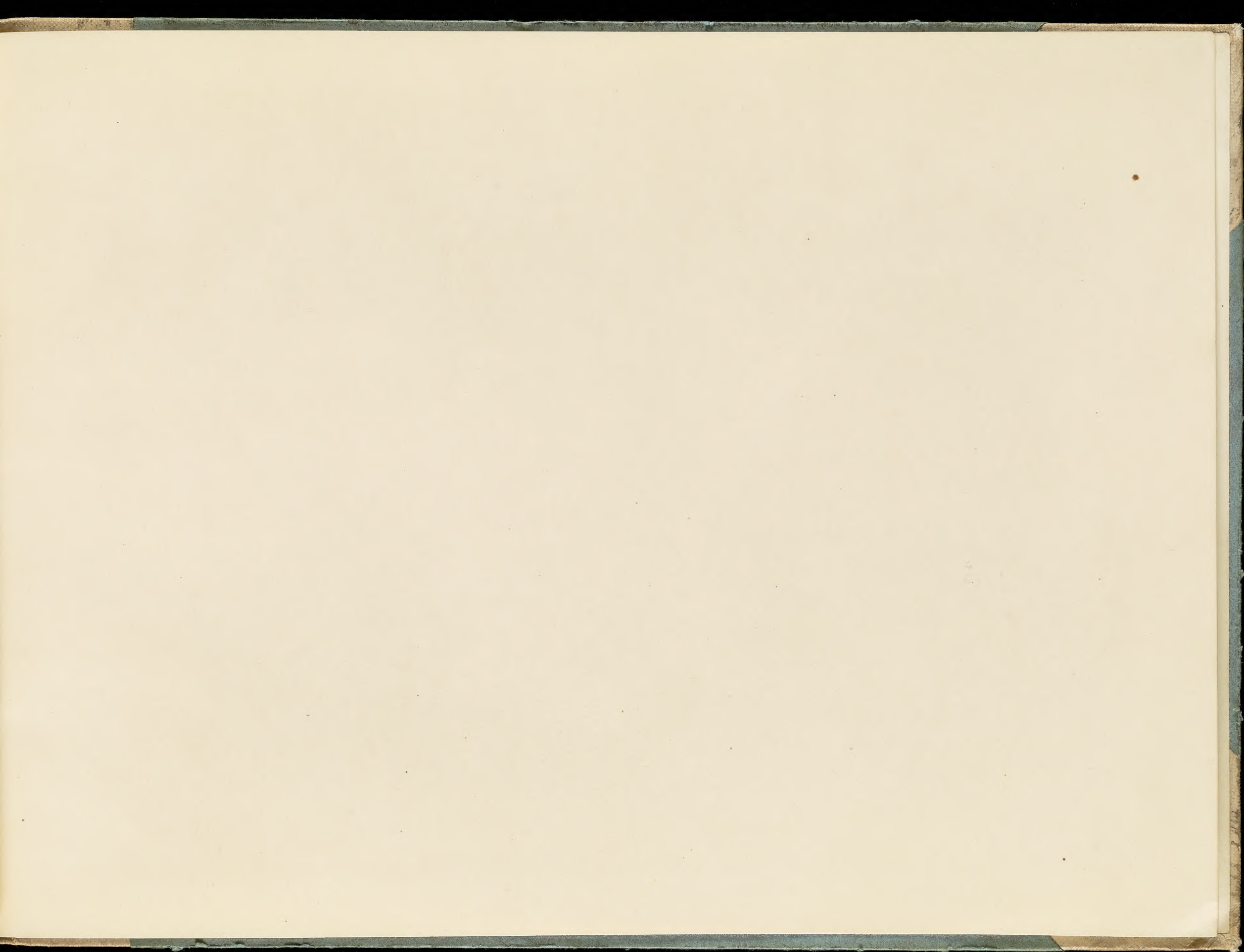
- IV. Upper and lower compartments (A III., B III.).
No important differences.
- V. Upper and lower compartments (A VI., B VI.).
Upper left figure in niche; wings of angel omitted.
Inscriptions omitted.
- VI. Upper and lower compartments (A VII., B VII.).
Lower inscription given imperfectly, upper omitted.
- VII. Upper and lower compartments (A VIII., B VIII.).
In upper picture, foot of chalice seen on altar; part of a figure on *R.* of altar immediately behind the Virgin.
Upper inscription omitted.
- VIII. Lower compartment only (B VIII.).
Signed G. A. C.

North Side.

- I. Upper and lower compartments (A I., B I.).
No important differences.
Inscriptions: upper omitted, lower incorrectly given.
- II. Lower compartment only (B I.).
Signed G. A. C.
- III. Lower compartment only (B II.).
Signed G. A. C.
- IV. Lower compartment (B III.).
Signed G. A. C.
The figures in the windows less accurately given than by Essex.
- V. Lower compartments (Amoras and image of Virgin bleeding: B VI., B VII.).
Signed G. A. C.
The image of the Virgin and Child in the niche in the second scene drawn clearly.







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